



General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

12th Meeting

Friday, 30 September 1994, 10 a.m.
New York

Official Records

President: Mr. Essy (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

**Address by Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas,
President of the Republic of Lithuania**

The President (interpretation from French): The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Lithuania.

Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, President of the Republic of Lithuania, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President (interpretation from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Lithuania, His Excellency Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Brazauskas (spoke in Lithuanian; English text furnished by the delegation): I sincerely thank you, Sir, for the honour and opportunity of addressing this forum, and I extend my congratulations to you upon your election to lead the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

In this Hall, we see representatives of the entire world, a world in which there has been unprecedented global change. Our planet is growing more unified in all areas of life; economic and political integration is well under way. Nations, States and entire continents are

drawing closer together. It is unfortunate that not all changes lead to progress. A new avalanche of problems confronts the United Nations and other international organizations, affecting rich and poor countries alike.

I fully concur with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his belief that today as never before our international community needs a new and forward-looking vision of our future. The time has long been ripe for us to discuss within the United Nations agenda the creation of a new and universal concept of development that would embrace peace, economic development, a clean environment, social justice and democratic governance as the five spokes supporting the wheel of humanity's progress. It is clear, I believe, that our generation must take up the task of rediscovering the world and building within it new, mutually supportive relationships. One of the fundamental instruments at our disposal in this global task is the United Nations.

On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, it is appropriate to recall the circumstances of its creation. It is important that we examine the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations predecessor, the League of Nations. We must learn from this analysis so as to ensure that the United Nations shall not become a mere bystander to world events. It is true, of course, that the global situation today is fundamentally different from that which existed at the outbreak of the Second World War. We no longer suffer from the presence of dictatorial bandit States led by fanatics. But potential dangers exist today;

they are multifaceted and have spread throughout the world.

Together we must overcome racism, hatred of foreigners, fanatical nationalism and intolerance. If we do not, these demons, once having manifested themselves in men, communities or entire nations, could destroy the entire world.

Today I would like to take note of a historic day for Lithuania, the Baltic States and all of Europe. It is all the more significant in that the General Assembly will discuss at this forty-ninth session, the complete withdrawal of foreign military forces from the territories of the Baltic States, as called for by a General Assembly resolution adopted at the forty-eighth session. On 31 August 1993 the withdrawal of the Russian military from Lithuania was completed, and exactly one year later the same historic event took place in Estonia and Latvia. That date also coincided with the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany. This harmony of dates is more than merely symbolic: it marks the resolution of one more consequence of the Second World War.

Guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter, Lithuania continues to broaden its international relations in a consistent manner. The goals and priorities of our economic, social and foreign policies remain unchanged.

Lithuania seeks to secure democratic government and the principles of a free market, and at the same time to ensure the well-being of its people and the protection of minority rights. Lithuania is confronted with serious problems of a social character common to all young democracies.

Yet at the same time, we must also recognize what has already been accomplished. Lithuania has a stable currency. Inflation is under control. The private sector already employs the majority of the work force. A vibrant and innovative market continues to grow. After four years of dramatic decline, the standard of living has been stabilized, although it is still rather low. An attractive legal environment has been ensured for foreign investment.

We attach great value to the bilateral and multilateral assistance to the process of democracy-building and free-market reforms. Western interest in and attention to the restored democracies of Central Europe is vital not only for us, the recipients of such assistance, but for the future of a unified Europe. Today the future of the West can no

longer be considered in isolation from developments in the East.

We benefit from successful cooperation with Estonia and Latvia, our closest neighbours, with whom we share a common history and common fate. This year a permanent body, the Baltic Council of Ministers, was established. But as we look to the future, this will not be enough. If the Baltic countries are to become integrated members of Europe, then the establishment of a common visa and economic space can only be the first step of many. It is imperative that our foreign and defence policies be even more closely coordinated and that we harmonize our legislation in accordance with the norms of the European Union.

I believe that all the countries of our region face new opportunities with the establishment of another cooperative body approximately one year ago: the Council of Baltic Sea States. This region has great potential. It is home to countries large and small, economically strong and less developed, that not so long ago were separated by the front lines of the cold war.

The Baltic Sea States are unified by many common goals as well as problems. Sadly, in recent days we have also shared a common tragedy. I wish to express my deepest condolences to the Governments of our neighbouring countries and to the people whose loved ones perished in the catastrophe that befell the ferry *M.S. Estonia*.

As I speak of our neighbours, I must also point to our relations with Belarus. We are heartened by the new possibilities of concluding a treaty on inter-State relations between our two countries. The signing of such a treaty will further secure the principle so valued by our nations: good-neighbourly relations.

Lithuania attaches particular importance to its relations with Russia. As neighbours, we are very interested - perhaps even more so than other countries - in the success of the democratic and free-market reforms in that country.

Russian relations with Lithuania and the other Baltic States today are a reflection of the current Russian position concerning the evolving European order, one in which old divisions are disappearing. We would like to hope that the new Russia will adhere to the principles of international law and will not obstruct the integration of the Baltic countries into European political, economic and

security structures. This would be a clear signal that the democratic reforms undertaken in Russia are irreversible and that new lines of division will not be drawn in Europe. It would reaffirm that Russia does not seek to isolate itself from the West and that, on the contrary, it trusts the West and seeks cooperation with it on an equal basis.

Given Lithuania's geopolitical situation and our economic opportunities, we can and are prepared to be a bridge between East and West. But I also want to emphasize that a future as a buffer State is completely unacceptable to us.

Several days ago, in his address to the Assembly, Russian President Yeltsin stated that it was essential to reject the imposition of one's will on weaker States and to build a new order, founded on law and morality. I express my hope that democratic Russia will adhere to these responsibilities and thus justify the growing trust of the international community in its future.

One year ago I said from this podium that Lithuania would welcome steps toward the gradual demilitarization of the Kaliningrad district. Today I can state with satisfaction that Russia is reducing its military presence in that area. Lithuania, whose territory is traversed by transit to this Russian enclave, is not indifferent to the future of the Kaliningrad district and the Lithuanian minority residing there. Occupying a unique place on the map of Europe, this Russian territory demands special attention. It could become a stone in the foundation of security and an attractive economic partner or, under less favourable conditions, a source or even exporter of military threat and unrest. Lithuania proposes to examine issues pertaining to the Kaliningrad district as part of the round-table mechanism established by the European Stability Pact. We hope that all interested parties will give their support to this initiative.

In concluding a fundamental bilateral Treaty with Poland this year, we have closed a chapter of our common history. From the start of the 1930s and the outbreak of conflict over Lithuania's capital of Vilnius, relations between us were tainted by open confrontation, a state of affairs still remembered in the halls of the Palais des Nations in Geneva. I believe that this Treaty, which recognizes and confirms the present borders of our countries, can be considered the final *rapprochement* for Lithuania and Poland. As we greet the future, Lithuanians and Poles will be able to make their rightful contribution to a unifying Europe.

We also strive to establish closer ties with other countries of Central Europe. We share not only a similar history, but also current problems and future goals. I am convinced that the convening of a meeting of the leaders of all Central European States in the very near future would benefit our countries. Such a conference would allow us to discuss our common reform experiences and our strategies for drawing closer to the European Union.

Participation in multilateral and international forums provides new opportunities for Lithuania. An ever-increasing number of important political decisions are today being reached in international organizations. This is especially beneficial for small and medium-sized States.

Lithuania sees the guarantee of its security, stability and well-being in joining European political, economic and security structures. Lithuania has always been an integral part of European civilization and culture. We have never lost our European heritage. Our recent 50-year separation from the world did not sever our roots. Our goal remains membership in the European Union. We have already concluded a free-trade agreement with the Union that should come into affect next year. We also expect soon to sign an agreement on associate membership with the Union.

Integration into the European Union cannot be considered in isolation from the broadening of qualitatively new ties with the Western European Union. Lithuania is an associate partner of this defence organization of ever-increasing importance. We believe the strengthening of the role of the Western European Union to be both logical and necessary.

I am also convinced that the security and stability of my country and the region demand closer cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Lithuania has presented its formal request for membership in that organization and will continue resolutely to seek the fulfilment of this goal. Lithuania's participation in the Partnership for Peace programme opens new avenues for Lithuanian cooperation in efforts with Europe, the United States and Canada in their endeavours to prevent conflict and maintain peace. We firmly hope that our active participation and that of other Central European States in the Partnership programme will have a positive impact on the broadening of NATO.

The expansion of NATO eastward would not pose a danger or threaten any European State. Russian fears

of isolation, I believe, are groundless. We welcome Russia's joining in the Partnership for Peace and hope that its participation in the programme will contribute to the strengthening of mutual trust and stability.

I should like to take note of several concerns of a more global character, the burden and urgency of which are particularly felt by the countries in transition. Our well-founded fears are heightened by the continuously growing gap between the developed and developing countries. Can we truly speak of a stable Europe when the hourly wages of a laborer in the European Union are equal to one day's pay in Central Europe and, in some countries of Eastern Europe, to a month's income? If this unfortunate tendency is allowed to continue, a wave of despondency and instability may overflow all barriers.

The young democracies of Central and Eastern Europe are confronted by dangers posed by organized crime, illegal migration and trafficking in narcotics and, most horribly, in nuclear materials. These are the unfortunate negative consequences of our rejoining the world; without the necessary experience, they are difficult to address. We require coordinated and concrete assistance.

We live not only in a time of great changes, but also in a world of great contrasts. As we celebrate the historic transformation of Europe, the stunning successes in the Middle East peace process and the end of apartheid in South Africa, we are nevertheless witnessing continuing tragedies and conflicts all over the world.

The efforts of the international community, expressed through the United Nations, do not always achieve their desired results. The main reason for this is the inability to enact decisive measures. This is particularly evident when large countries are for any reason drawn into local conflicts, leading to a clash of their global interests. In such cases, the timely removal of built-up tensions becomes difficult. If we fail to avoid conflict, its containment and reduction become painful and long-term, often leading to the death of Blue Helmets in the execution of their peace mission. It is therefore crucial that we join forces to improve the conflict prevention mechanism. In this regard, we support the initiative of Germany and the Netherlands to improve cooperative relations between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Every State must contribute in a tangible way towards the creation of a peaceful and stable world. This must be the responsibility of everyone. It would be inappropriate

for any country to seek to achieve its own interests or expand its sphere of influence under the guise of peace-keeping missions. There are criteria which must be followed in this regard - namely, the principles of the United Nations and the CSCE. These principles must, in my opinion, apply to all countries, including the Russian Federation. We cannot agree to allowing countries to carry out peace-keeping missions in any given geographical space without the consent of the parties to the conflict or the proper international mandate. I would like to emphasize my conviction that the principles of international law must be adhered to by all States, small and large.

With the end of the cold war and the spread of democracy, old global divisions begin to disappear. It is vital that this continue. Those who believe that a new delineation of spheres of interest can bring stability to the world are mistaken. We who have felt the consequences of such divisions of influence can testify that this would only bring about new conflicts and upheaval.

The United Nations has a particular significance for small and medium-sized States - in other words, the majority of countries. These States suffer first when instability and mutual distrust take root in the world. In an anarchic world, guided only by an ad hoc order, small States are the first to fall victim to larger interests. Small States experience with considerable pain the negative side-effects of global changes; they are the true front-line States. We have only to look at the front pages of the world's newspapers. Bosnia, Rwanda, Tajikistan - all of these are small States struggling with tragic historical legacies.

At the same time, if there exist guarantees for their security, small States develop rapidly and bring their own contributions to the international community. I firmly adhere to my remarks, made a year ago in this Hall, that

"the future of a more integrated world lies in democracy and the individuality of free nations."
(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting, p. 14)

This individuality and diversity do not have to divide us. Quite the opposite - they will enrich us.

Lithuania became a Member of the United Nations three years ago. Until now, Lithuania was perhaps a passive recipient of the assistance and security this

membership provided. Today Lithuania seeks to contribute actively to the undertakings of the international community to strengthen security and stability throughout the world.

Together with Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania is in the process of establishing a Baltic peace-keeping battalion which will be fully operational in the very near future. With the consent of the Lithuanian Parliament, a group of Lithuanian peace-keepers, serving within a larger Danish battalion, is today a part of the United Nations Protection Force stationed in Croatia. I take this opportunity to thank Denmark and the other countries that provide continuous assistance in the creation of Lithuanian and Baltic peace-keeping units. In the future, within its financial capabilities, Lithuania will continue to participate in similar United Nations peace-keeping and humanitarian missions.

With the expansion of United Nations membership, the range of issues we are asked to discuss within the United Nations has also increased, imposing new responsibilities and new demands on the Organization. It is very important that the international community be properly represented in the Security Council. Lithuania therefore supports proposals to expand the membership of the Council, creating new permanent as well as non-permanent seats.

One of the principle guarantees of international stability is respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms and their development and defence. It was, of course, within the framework of the United Nations that the first landmark international human rights documents were adopted.

We believe the establishment of the office of High Commissioner for Human Rights to be a timely decision. The High Commissioner must become the overall coordinator of United Nations activities in the field of human rights. The world clearly needs an institution that can rapidly and effectively report human rights violations, particularly those which pose a danger of escalating into prolonged conflict. Such reporting would enhance the policy of preventive diplomacy.

Lithuania continues along the difficult road of reform, maintaining a relatively high human development index, as reflected in the United Nations Development Programme's 1994 report on human development, where it is in twenty-eighth place. We are well aware of the particular circumstances of this high ranking and of the fact that it is calculated with the use of rather distorted gross national product statistics. Unfortunately, the use of these distorted

figures has led to excessive contributions to the United Nations and to a reduction in assistance provided.

At the same time, Lithuania, like other Central European countries, has despite the odds achieved a high level of development in education, science and culture. This, too, is reflected in the human development index. This state of affairs has two aspects. As Lithuania cannot effectively finance these areas from its own resources, an overall decline is unavoidable. Another possibility remains: with the help of the United Nations and other organizations, the decline may be halted in the fields of education, science and culture. If the existing foundation is protected, recovery in the economic and social fields will follow more rapidly. Adopting this second solution would be less costly and more effective than allowing a collapse of the system.

Lithuania, like other formerly central-command economies, has inherited environmentally damaging technologies. While we have witnessed political and economic change, the restoration of a balanced environment in our countries will take many years and require financial resources.

As the possessor of a powerful nuclear energy facility, Lithuania is particularly concerned about nuclear safety. Here, I wish to express our particular gratitude to Sweden and other Western European partners for assistance they provide to increase the safety of our nuclear energy programme.

Lithuania welcomes the increased attention that international environmental organizations are giving to the concerns of our region. I believe that combined efforts are capable of producing results much sooner than we first imagined. But, for this to occur, we must be assured that assistance provided by the United Nations will not be reduced. Of particular relevance to my country is the transfer of environmentally sound technology and know-how. An ecologically aware civilization must become the goal of our era.

If the international community does not provide the necessary assistance and cooperation the situation in our region could change for the worse. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe receive a small portion of the technical assistance provided by the United Nations, but it is employed in our region effectively and with visible results.

Here I should like to welcome the reforms initiated by the Secretary-General. We now see the first results of the restructuring, and we are satisfied with the progress. We are particularly encouraged by steps taken to increase managerial and policy-making accountability within the Secretariat, as well as the simplification and streamlining of the decision-making machinery. Lithuania supports and pledges its full cooperation with the new Office of Internal Oversight.

I would also draw attention to the fact that the United Nations Charter still contains certain outdated concepts concerning enemy States. These are a relic of the Second World War. Therefore, I believe Articles 53 and 107 of the Charter ought to be amended.

One of this year's most important international events was the International Conference on Population and Development held recently in Cairo. Next year the United Nations will continue the tradition of transcontinental forums. The world social Summit in Copenhagen will afford us an opportunity to put people's concerns at the centre of social policy. This is of particular relevance to countries whose economies are in transition, where people carry the burden of rapid economic, social and political change.

The World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing, will address the key question of how, in times of awesome change, men and women can work together for a peaceful world in which equality and harmony will be the norm and reality of life.

At the beginning of my address I spoke of the wheel of human development being supported by five basic principles. Today we clearly face a time for decisions. Either that wheel will turn, slowly but surely, through the joint efforts of us all, taking us towards ever higher plains of progress, or it will stop turning, and if it stops it will inevitably begin to roll backwards - to chaos and barbarity.

As humanity crosses into a new millennium, we must not allow the wheel to stop turning. This demands the collective action of all States and peoples. That is why we must always remind ourselves that no organization in the world today can equal the authority, longevity, dynamism and vitality of the United Nations.

That which divided nations, States or continents cannot achieve alone they can and will achieve together as the United Nations. I am convinced of this, as there is no alternative.

The President (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Lithuania for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, President of the Republic of Lithuania, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Venezuela.

Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Venezuela, His Excellency Mr. Rafael Caldera, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Caldera (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government and people of Venezuela, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. I am confident that under your guidance the Assembly will at this important session contribute to progress in the carrying out of the important task with which the Organization is charged - the constant quest for peace.

I also take pleasure in paying tribute to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, whose intelligent and expert leadership have given the world fresh hope, as we are about to enter a new millennium, so that we may be optimistic about the future, even though there are still grounds for concern.

The twentieth century, which is drawing to a close, has witnessed momentous events for mankind. Two world wars, which cost an enormous number of human lives and immense physical, economic and cultural losses, demonstrated the extent to which man is capable of destruction - above all, self-destruction. The world's political map has been changed many times, with predictable consequences.

Science and technology have made remarkable progress. The discovery of antibiotics has provided undreamt-of opportunities for surgery. Surgeons have converted the human body into a fruitful field for operations capable of correcting natural defects and injuries arising from circumstances prevailing in an increasingly complex society. Life expectancy has risen steadily, and terrible endemic diseases that used to claim countless victims have vanished almost completely.

Communications have been the greatest marvel of this century. The twentieth century has been the era of radio broadcasting and television. Important events occurring in any part of the world are immediately known in the most distant regions. The fax has supplanted the mails and improved on the telegram and the telex. Communications are the principal reason why the inhabitants of this planet are gradually recognizing their role as members of a single, vast community of nations.

Of necessity, institutions have endeavoured to keep in step with the rapid and unremitting march of events. Both internal and international juridical norms are subject to constant change. Fundamental concepts of nationality and sovereignty are being reconsidered, and formulas are being sought so that inalienable and traditional rights may exist in harmony with the requirements of the supranational community. Amongst these values are the self-determination of nations and non-intervention, as laid down in the Preamble to our Constitution. Accordingly, Venezuela has been and remains permanently disposed to promoting the peaceful spread of democracy to every nation on Earth, and especially to those of our continent. We have consequently supported efforts aimed at reintroducing a fully democratic system in those Latin American countries where it is not at present established. Their situation is inevitably of deep concern to us by reason of history and natural affinities. For the same reason, though, Venezuela did not support military intervention in Haiti, despite the fact that the United Nations has lent it multilateral and institutional support.

At the same time, regional integration is expanding, with profound effect on the exercise of rights within every country. This process is rapidly leading to hemispheric and universal integration. For Latin Americans, the bicentennial of the birth of Antonio José de Sucre, the young man who consolidated our independence at the battle of Ayacucho, will provide an opportunity to reassert the unbreakable links of our solidarity. As we see it, the objective of the forthcoming meeting of Heads of State or Government, convened by the President of the United

States, will be the encouragement of a genuinely democratic system in the American continent and throughout the world. It is our hope in this regard that there will be a commitment to fight without quarter against poverty and an effective agreement to stamp out corruption.

The United Nations has managed to avoid most of the obstacles that caused the failure of its immediate predecessor, the League of Nations. Next year it will celebrate its first 50 years of existence: a time in which, amidst contradictions and disappointments, it has provided a unique forum for constant dialogue, in every language and in the most contrasting tones. It has made uninterrupted progress and shown a willingness to accept the structural changes that changing times have imposed. For this reason we are awaiting further changes, such as the expansion of permanent representation on the Security Council to Latin America by granting Brazil permanent membership. Latin America has every right to this by virtue of its spiritual strength and its constant espousal of liberty and international friendship.

However, despite all the progress achieved, it is undeniable that we are still a very long way from having established a stable, universal peace or a harmonious coexistence amongst nations. Nor have we developed standards of living that permit all social strata in the various continents to enjoy a fitting human existence, with a satisfactory world-wide level of equity in social relations.

The struggle for human rights has spread significantly, and international treaties have been signed to ensure that protection of such rights transcends all borders. But the basic human right to life itself, the right to work and the right to have enough to eat for healthy living are far from having been secured for a considerable part of mankind.

The momentous International Conference on Population and Development, recently held in Cairo, seemed to be based on the assumption that it is impossible to guarantee development interpreted as participation by the whole human being and by all human beings in economic and social processes - if the population continues to increase. This is because many countries have not ensured, as is essential, that everyone who is born will have the means to enjoy a decent existence. In my country, at the beginning of the century, a time of manifest poverty and backwardness, there was a saying that every child was born with an

arepa under the arm. "Arepa" is a bread made of maize and is a popular staple of the daily diet. This saying has now dropped out of popular usage.

In spite of the dramatic repercussions of the events following the destruction of the Berlin Wall, peace has not yet been achieved. Just as we were ready to thrill with emotion at the arrival of universal peace, the Gulf War awakened us from that dream. Recent conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda, two countries so fundamentally different one from the other, have stirred up vestiges of barbarism that had supposedly disappeared for ever. Religious conflicts and ethnic antagonisms, thought to have been overcome once and for all, have re-emerged with unbelievable bitterness. Events recall the Biblical commentary of the Peruvian Victor Andrés Belaunde, an illustrious Latin American, greatly appreciated in the United Nations, who said that human beings bear the weight of a curse implicitly imposed by God when He cast them out of the Garden of Eden: Since they refused to be governed by God, they would have to govern themselves.

The United Nations faces a constant challenge: the quest for peace. It is clear that peace will not be achieved simply through political discussion or diplomatic negotiation, still less through the mere use of force. It has often been said by knowledgeable speakers that peace is the fruit of justice: that is, without some degree of justice, peace is unattainable.

That was understood by the negotiators at Versailles at the end of the First World War when they included in their Peace Treaty a lengthy clause devoted to the International Labour Organization and inspired by the notion of social justice. Undoubtedly, however, the need for justice goes far beyond international conventions and recommendations with regard to labour, and meeting that need is becoming a matter of increasing urgency.

The rapid process of globalization we are witnessing is unstoppable and unavoidable. The steps being taken in this direction are dictated by the state of today's world and the demands of the immediate and mid-term future. The conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the creation of the World Trade Organization represent undeniable progress for mankind. The bilateral and multilateral agreements reached on all continents are signs of progress and stimulate the creation and exchange of wealth. It is nevertheless essential to introduce into relations between States instruments that will prevent commercial interchange from becoming an economic war to the death. It is inappropriate to transfer to social relations the concept of

the struggle for existence in the sense that nature itself, through this struggle, will automatically ensure the survival of the fittest - in other words, the absolute predominance of the strongest and the disappearance of the weakest. The acceptance of such an idea would be a crime against humanity.

It must be recognized that the United Nations and its important subsidiary bodies have made great efforts to alleviate the sufferings and shortages of those sectors of humanity where the standard of living is below what is deemed humanely indispensable. It is encouraging to note that institutions directly related to the United Nations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund recognize that the fight against poverty must be a top priority. It is not, however, enough to give humanitarian assistance to the neediest. It is essential to afford nations the conditions they require to enable all their inhabitants to compete efficiently, to ensure their healthy survival and to encourage their progress.

It is true that economic-liberalization measures in less-developed countries have produced positive macroeconomic results, but in some countries that point with satisfaction to the tremendous economic progress they have achieved one can note, at the same time, a growing concern about that portion of the population that is living in poverty and, even more distressing, in critical and even extreme poverty.

I share the aspiration voiced by the President of Colombia to a new model of development for our countries, for an "alternative model," as he put it when addressing the Assembly. He proposed the establishment of

"a new and more productive citizen in the economy, a citizen who participates to a greater degree in politics and who is more supportive in the social sphere." (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, [p. 27]*)

In recent years my country, Venezuela, has faced a difficult economic situation and disquieting social circumstances. Undeniably, the blame lies largely with us. Grievous mistakes in running the country and the poisonous plague of corruption are the principal causes of the acute crisis we are experiencing, but external factors have also played a part. I am not here to pronounce judgement on the past. As I have pledged to my compatriots, I must find ways of restoring the confidence

that is indispensable if coming generations are to be able, with training and hard work, to avail themselves of the opportunities the country has to offer. Serious institutional problems - such as the legal proceedings against two former Presidents of the Republic, one of whom was suspended from office while still President - have been handled within the legal system with strict adherence to the Constitution. The people's conduct has been truly exemplary. The natural resources with which providence has endowed us and the favourable prospects guaranteed by our human resource, our people, who have always demonstrated intelligence, creative audacity and courage in times of danger, inspire us with optimism. We realize that we must seek within ourselves the essential elements that will enable us to win the struggle for development to which we are so seriously committed. We have put forward an economic stabilization and recovery programme that has been in large part accepted. It lays out a feasible and clearly defined course that will ultimately lead to a solution of the crisis. However, we feel that we are in duty bound to explain to international forums, and most particularly to this world forum, the need for favourable prospects to open up that can help us to avoid exerting our efforts in vain and ensure instead that they will be successful and will contribute to a better future for mankind.

For example, when considering the need to strengthen trade relations throughout the world we must call for guaranteed access to the markets of the developed countries, where mechanisms are sometimes in place that are skillfully used to exclude our competition. We agree with the need for environmental protection for the benefit of the world's inhabitants, and we are certainly ready to contribute to that goal. However, we must make the point that on more than one occasion the ecological struggle for a healthy environment has been hypocritically used as a way to prevent developing countries from gaining access to the markets of wealthy nations. We further believe that transfer of technology must be wide ranging and genuine, for if it is not the gap between us and the developed countries, which increases every year, will ultimately become impossible to bridge and will lead to a sharp and bitter rift between two sectors of mankind, with unforeseeable but undoubtedly disastrous consequences.

Access to capital is a requirement that is becoming ever more acute as technological advances make productive processes more capital- and less labour-intensive. At the same time, there must be fair payment for the raw materials that represent the principal contribution of the underdeveloped countries to international trade but that are constantly losing their relevance in end products.

Consequently, access to capital must be arranged on equitable terms to protect the interests of producers, who are often obliged to accept conditions that are little more than adhesion contracts. This struggle to obtain better prices for raw materials, which are almost invariably subject to conditions imposed by consumer countries without any real participation by the producers, and the establishment of reasonable terms for international loans are part of the struggle for justice and an integral part of the struggle for peace.

The external-debt problem of the developing countries is still far from being solved. It is true that there have been negotiations on restructuring and that they have temporarily alleviated the dreadful burden that problem represents for the debtor countries, but as the repayment deadlines fall due the burden for those in debt becomes harder to bear with the passing of every year. To cite a concrete example: in my country next year's debt servicing payments will amount to 35 per cent of the national budget, and in coming years the situation will become even more acute. The drop in the price of our main export has made it very difficult to meet the basic needs of our population. We have never given any thought to disavowing our obligations. We are resolved to meet them, but we consider that this subject must be placed on international agendas and that a search must begin for a broad solution that will open up new horizons of justice and peace.

I believe that as we approach the beginning of the second half of the United Nations first century the fundamental aim of the United Nations must be the search for justice in relations among peoples.

Social justice has been one of the most important achievements of this twentieth century that is now drawing to a close. This demands of every individual and every group whatever is required for the common good. Above and beyond the numerical equality of commutative justice, it also requires of all of us that we make a contribution to the community of nations in proportion to our individual possibilities. This concept has still not gained acceptance in the international field. It is true that there have been some minor concessions to the most needy countries but there is a lack of any clear course towards the achievement of universal well-being. It is not only States that should be the agents. Once the door was opened by the International Labour Organization (ILO), international organizations also provided access for unofficial bodies. The large transnational corporations which have and exercise real

power must become involved in the management of programmes that will seek peace through justice; economic justice in so far as it concerns them; and respect for the sovereignty of both large and small States.

Those of us who love freedom; those of us who have struggled to achieve it, regardless of cost and sacrifice; those of us who consider democracy and respect for human rights as priority objectives; those of us who sincerely yearn for friendship and fruitful understanding among all nations; those of us who believe in dialogue and resolutely support the endeavours of the United Nations to encourage it - all of us desire to see the United Nations displaying unflinching determination that the search for justice - and I shall never tire of repeating this - must play a key role in the building of peace.

If peace is our goal let us strive to make justice its foundation. In this way we shall realize the ideal which our Liberator, Simon Bolivar, visualized as the most important goal of the best system of government: "the greatest possible degree of happiness", in other words, happiness for all.

The President (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Venezuela for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda Item 9 (continued)

General Debate

The President (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker in the resumed general debate is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Cambodia, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sirivudh, on whom I now call.

Prince Norodom Sirivudh (Cambodia) (*interpretation from French*): On this solemn occasion allow me first to convey to you, Sir, on behalf of the Cambodian delegation, heartfelt congratulations on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. Your election is very important because it is a tribute not only to your diplomatic skills, to someone experienced in international affairs, but also to the tireless work done by Côte d'Ivoire, your glorious country, for peace.

I am delighted to take this opportunity to convey to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, our satisfaction at the exemplary way in which he presided over the work of last year's session of the General Assembly.

We wish also to congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the many efforts he has constantly made for peace and security throughout the world since he has been at the head of the Organization. The Kingdom of Cambodia reiterates its firm support to the Secretary-General.

(spoke in English)

It gives me particular pride to be here today as the representative of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Royal Government under the First Prime Minister, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh, and the Second Prime Minister, Samdech Hun Sen, was installed as the legitimate Government of Cambodia a little more than a year ago, on 24 September 1993, through the foresight, generosity and courage of the Members of the United Nations and the bravery of the Cambodian people in choosing, through United Nations-sponsored elections, a liberal democracy, building up national reconciliation under the high guidance of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk.

I have come here today to represent the Cambodian people in expressing our warmest gratitude to the Members of the United Nations for their wonderful gift of freedom. After 23 years of war Cambodia is now at peace and able to start to move towards development, social justice and prosperity. This has not been an easy task because our financial base is still very low. As a member of the group of least developed countries, Cambodia remains one of the poorest countries in the world and a large proportion of its people are saddled with crushing poverty. But, again, the United Nations is at our side. The Bretton Woods institutions are helping us to re-establish a solid fiscal base and the specialized agencies have almost all moved in to assist development and strengthen our institutions.

In the economic field, there has been some progress over the past few years. According to the 1992 report, the inflation rate was estimated to be 300 per cent, but in 1993 it dropped to 70 per cent. This year our local currency is very stable: 1 dollar is equal to 2,500 riels. Bilateral donors have also been generous, and as assistance moves from the area of emergency

rehabilitation to that of reconstruction, achievements are beginning to be noted.

However, the most important of the Royal Government's priorities for reconstruction and rural development have unfortunately lagged behind other kinds of development. The constraints of distance, an infrastructure ruined by two decades of war and a continuing insurgency have hampered efforts, but in our second year of office, the Government, together with our friends, will tackle those problems. Infrastructure can be rebuilt, and our king, His Majesty Norodom Sihanouk, is leading the move for reconciliation with the insurgents, the so-called Khmer Rouge group, who do not recognize the United Nations-sponsored elections and continue to challenge the legally elected democratic government, and above all have rejected the cease-fire that has been proposed through His Majesty's tireless efforts.

Please allow me to reiterate, on behalf of all the people of Cambodia, our deep and lasting gratitude to all of the States Members of the United Nations and to the individual bilateral donors who have so generously supported reconstruction in our country, both through the United Nations and its institutions, and through their pledges at the first and second ministerial meetings of the Intergovernmental Committees on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC), held in Paris and Tokyo respectively. With the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) we have now developed our first country programme, which will be presented to the Executive Board of UNDP on 6 October 1994.

The UNDP is also assisting us to reform the civil administration within Cambodia.

Many other specialized agencies of the United Nations are also doing excellent work within the country: the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the World Food Programme, to name a few.

Cambodia has itself been through the holocaust of tyranny, invasion and internal disturbances. Our National Assembly is now in the process of restoring Cambodia as a judicial State where human rights, political pluralism, liberal democracy and, above all, freedom of expression are respected, as envisaged in our Constitution. To this end, we have been grateful for the support and

encouragement of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose close cooperation with the Cambodian Government has helped us in our task of re-establishing law and confidence in the country.

Cambodia is the only country in the region to have asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations to dispatch a special representative for human rights. In comparison with the twenty years of war and totalitarianism under the previous regimes, progress has been made. We also appreciate the early visit of the newly appointed United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights, the Honorable José Ayala Lasso.

Because of our own terrible experiences, Cambodia feels to the depths of its soul for the plight of the ordinary people in Rwanda. We congratulate the international community for its intervention in Rwanda and we are pleased to see that the situation is now stabilized. In particular, we wish to applaud and commend the French for the rapid action they took to help put an end to the killing and suffering of the Rwandese people.

On the same basis, Cambodia wishes to call on the rival factions in the former Yugoslavia to stop their fighting and cooperate with the United Nations. Cambodia is, of course, well acquainted with the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in the former Yugoslavia, His Excellency Mr. Yasushi Akashi, and is full of admiration for, and confidence in, his efforts to restore peace and security to the people of that troubled region.

Again, from the Cambodian experience of using democratic elections as a catalyst for peace, we wish to congratulate the people of South Africa and the new democratic government led by President Nelson Mandela, on their move towards a normalization of the lives of the people and on the return of South Africa to the world's embrace.

Cambodia fully supports the Geneva Declaration of 12 August 1994 between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and hopes that the Declaration will be fully and sincerely implemented. Cambodia strongly supports the earnest desires of the Korean people who, in the not-too-distant future, will bring their beloved country towards full reunification.

Cambodia welcomed the just initiative taken by the international community on the question of Haiti to avoid bloodshed and to oversee the smooth transition to a democratically elected government. Cambodia calls on the people of Haiti to work towards the national reconciliation and development of their country under the democratically elected president, Jean Bertrand Aristide.

We pray for an end to the senseless killing in Afghanistan, so that the Afghan people may be able to resume their normal lives and rebuild and develop their war-torn nation.

We are pleased to see the political outcome in Northern Ireland and hope that peace and happiness will soon return to that beautiful land.

The situation in the Middle East has brought us great joy. The peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinian people is the most encouraging historical event of our time.

The recent accord between Israel and Jordan is definitely the right step towards peace, security and stability in that region. We encourage others to follow the example of this discussion for a peaceful world.

Cambodia is situated in south-east Asia, in the Asia-Pacific region. As we have moved towards development and prosperity for the Kingdom we have welcomed the friendship of the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which invited Cambodia to be a special guest for the second time at the twenty-seventh annual ministerial meeting held in Bangkok in July 1994. At an appropriate time, Cambodia looks forward with great enthusiasm to full membership in ASEAN. We will be delighted to see all 10 countries of our subregion one day join in the great ASEAN family. This will be a positive development for harmony and security in our part of the world. ASEAN has done a great deal for Cambodia during our difficult years, and for this we are eternally grateful to all of its six distinguished members: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Cambodia also welcomes the positive developments around the continuing growth of the Asia Pacific Economic Community. To use the economic achievements of the most prosperous of the nations of our wider region as a springboard for further growth, peace and stability is something that Cambodia highly values.

(spoke in French)

In addition to the constant efforts made by the Cambodian authorities to rebuild our country after the disastrous 20 years of war, Cambodia also aspires to rejoin the international community as a State of law.

The policy of neutrality and peaceful coexistence advocated by His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk since the period of *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* - People's Socialist Community - which lasted from the 1950s to the 1970s, remains the key to our foreign policy in order to promote peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

Cambodia is committed to development and peace for the well-being of our people, and we heartily welcome the important appeal by Mr. Clinton, President of the United States, for the elimination of anti-personnel land-mines throughout the world, as the *sine qua non* for development and lasting peace. Our people bear the scars of these deadly practices, and a sincere commitment from the international community would save the lives of innocent men, women and children throughout the world. We would like to take this opportunity to thank sincerely all donor countries for their generous contributions to the Cambodian Mine Action Centre (CMAC).

The globalization of national socio-cultural policies can be harmonious only if there is close and sincere cooperation between the industrialized countries and the developing countries. Hence, we wish to pay tribute to the international community for its support for the International Committee to Save the Temples of Angkor Wat, in particular, the valuable work done by UNESCO and the *École Française d'extrême orient*. The temples of Angkor Wat, one of the seven wonders of the world, have been designated the common heritage of mankind.

Cambodia is also concerned about environmental issues, and will be signing the Agreement to Combat Desertification in Paris.

Cambodia welcomes the convening of the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Copenhagen, and the World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing next year. We give particular attention to the development of our human sources, because of its implications for the process of social stabilization. Cambodia will actively participate in the work of these summits.

Cambodia welcomes the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and has already set up a national committee to participate in various events to be held next year.

Before concluding, I wish to voice sincere gratitude to the United Nations for the deployment of peace-keeping forces, and Cambodia takes this opportunity to inform the international community that it will make available its small peace-keeping forces at the request of this Organization.

In conclusion, Cambodia remains convinced that Member States will respond to emergencies and will meet their obligations. Cambodia is solemnly committed to complying with the United Nations Charter.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, His Excellency Mr. Javier Solana.

Mr. Solana (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to convey to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of this Assembly and to wish you great success in the performance of your duties. With your election, the members of the General Assembly recognize in your country, Côte d'Ivoire, the decisive contribution of Africa to the work of the Organization. I am confident that the General Assembly will follow the course of consensus that was set in the previous session, under the leadership of Ambassador Insanally, to whom I should like to pay a warm tribute.

Moreover, I wish to once again assure Mr. Boutros-Ghali, who honoured us last April with his official visit to my country, of the full cooperation of the Spanish authorities in assisting him in the difficult task he faces of meeting the increasingly complex challenges with which our Organization is faced.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, in his address on behalf of the European Union, has set forth our common points of view in this general debate. These reflect the advances made on the path to a common foreign and security policy, which is a major goal of the Union. On behalf of my delegation, I wish now to consider some issues in more detail.

The fundamental changes in the international system that we have witnessed in recent years have provided the United Nations with the great opportunity finally to establish itself as the venue for the universal harmonization

of the efforts of the international community to fulfil the common purposes contained in its Charter. However, they have also confronted the Organization with one of the greatest challenges in its history. Some have even cast doubt on the actual ability of the United Nations to contribute effectively to the solution of the many conflicts that have arisen or have been rekindled over the past few years.

After the first shock, provoked by crises such as those in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Angola, we have been confronted with appalling situations such as that in Rwanda, where the Organization's limited means have unfortunately proved insufficient to redress the plight of millions of human beings.

At the same time, the United Nations, with its resources stretched to the limit, is undergoing a financial crisis which can be addressed only with the resolute cooperation of the Member States. This should entail, first of all, the timely payment of their financial contributions, an obligation specified in the Charter. Only then will the Organization have the necessary means to achieve its objectives. Moreover, these means must be used in the most effective possible way.

Beyond the efforts for renewal already achieved or in progress, we must undertake a process of careful consideration at the highest level, with a view to deciding whether we are willing to provide the Organization with the legal, material and financial instruments it needs to meet successfully the growing demands made on it by the international community. The credibility of the United Nations is at stake.

The reform of the Security Council is an extremely important and complex matter, which will have to be accomplished through a careful process of dialogue leading to an understanding among all Member States.

Spain, which in the last two years has been a non-permanent member of the Security Council, reiterates its position in favour of a revision, without undue haste, of the composition and functioning of the Security Council, based on the criteria of representativity, efficiency and transparency, with the ultimate goal of reinforcing the legitimacy of the actions of the Council.

Spain, which has taken and will continue to take an active part in the meetings of the Ad Hoc Working Group of this Assembly, favours a moderate increase of the Council's membership. This would allow for a more

frequent presence in the Council of States with specific weight and influence in international relations, and which are, likewise, able and willing to contribute in a significant way to the maintenance of international peace and security and to fulfil the other purposes of the United Nations. The enlarged composition of the Council will also facilitate equitable geographical distribution among the different regions of the world.

Frightening events, such as those in Rwanda, make it more necessary than ever to continue the strengthening of the indispensable machinery for action required to execute the increasingly broad and complex mandates given by the Security Council to peace-keeping operations.

First of all, we must further improve the management and control mechanisms here in New York. The Secretariat has already made a major effort to strengthen the Department of Peace-keeping Operations by adding a Situation Centre, enlarging the Office of the Military Adviser and giving a boost to the planning unit.

Secondly, in order to speed up the effective launching of operations, the provisions relating to standby arrangements for peace-keeping should come into effect. Spain is prepared to participate in this mechanism, which should be broadened to include the police components of peace operations, as well as transport-related equipment and logistics in general.

Thirdly, it is important to face the issues relating to the safety of the personnel of the peace-keeping operations. Many casualties have been suffered by United Nations forces and humanitarian-assistance personnel, among them Spanish nationals who gave their lives in the quest for peace.

The setting up of an Ad Hoc Committee on the safety and security of United Nations and associated personnel, in particular those involved in peace-keeping operations, has been a step in the right direction, and we hope that the draft international convention on this matter will be adopted.

Notwithstanding the continuous efforts of the international community and of many of the political forces in the area, peace has not yet arrived in the Balkans. It is true that developments have occurred that give us cause for hope. We have witnessed a new international cohesiveness, which we must preserve at all costs. A rapprochement has taken place between the Croat and Muslim communities, which has led to the agreements

reached on federation. I am pleased to underscore the important role that the European Union is playing in the town of Mostar as a contribution to this process. Spain is actively participating in this effort; this is the area in which the Spanish contingent in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is carrying out its mission.

We welcome the establishment of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia. We trust that the experience gained by this ad hoc tribunal will serve as an incentive to the General Assembly to give favourable consideration to the proposed statute of an international criminal court, a permanent body with universal jurisdiction, which was drafted by the International Law Commission, and that this idea - which is not new - will come to fruition very soon.

Spain welcomes the process of political and economic transition in which the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are currently involved. Their future accession to the European Union and their progressive integration in the security mechanisms of the continent will contribute to the stability of Europe.

We are also witnessing important moves towards democracy and a free-market economy in the Russian Federation and in the other States that emerged from the former Soviet Union. Spain supports these changes, as their success will contribute not only to strengthening security in Europe but to world peace as well.

The community of Ibero-American nations has endowed itself with a political forum of considerable importance; this year, in Cartagena, Colombia, it once again voiced satisfaction at the progress made on the path to democracy and economic modernization.

Wherever internal armed conflicts are still active, as in Guatemala, we are witnessing a negotiation process promoted by and under the auspices of the United Nations, with the assistance of the "Group of Friends". Both the Government of Guatemala and the *Unidad revolucionaria nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG) are fully engaged in this process, with the ultimate goal of achieving national reconciliation and full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The delicate situation in Cuba calls for an additional effort to promote dialogue and cooperation to make possible the final incorporation of both the Government and the people of Cuba into the democratic current that is flowing through the continent at the present time. Dialogue is essential. Inventive solutions among Cubans, without excluding anyone, should be encouraged, with a view to opening up new democratic possibilities leading to a peaceful transition, with due respect for human rights, national sovereignty and fundamental freedoms. The Government of Spain, which remains opposed to the embargo that has been imposed, notes with satisfaction the talks taking place between Washington and Havana, where these issues can be addressed.

The Government of Spain is attentively following the situation in Haiti, with a view to the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 917 (1994) and 940 (1994), which will involve the return of the President legitimately elected by the Haitian people. The international community will have to concentrate its efforts on the reconstruction of the country, so that democracy may rest on solid foundations guaranteeing constitutional rule of law and respect for human rights.

Spain attaches particular importance to the establishment of a new process of dialogue and cooperation in the Mediterranean that will make it possible to tackle the economic, demographic and cultural differences existing in the region, and to bring peace and prosperity to the Mediterranean area.

My country has special ties of friendship and cooperation with the Maghreb countries and is striving to make a practical contribution to overcoming the problems existing in this area, to which Spain attaches great priority.

The Spanish Government considers that the solution to the problem of the Western Sahara lies in the holding of a referendum on self-determination with all appropriate international guarantees. My Government again expresses its support for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their efforts to ensure progress in implementing the settlement plan accepted by the parties and, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, creating the necessary conditions for the forthcoming holding of the referendum to which I have referred.

The Spanish Government has expressed on many occasions, its profound satisfaction at the progress achieved in the Middle East peace process, which started at the

Madrid Conference. Thanks to the determination and courage of the interested parties, 1994 has been a year of significant achievements on the path to peace and understanding. Spain has always supported the need for a lasting and comprehensive peace, in conformity with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Spain urges the parties and all the States in the region, on the basis of their clear and unanimous rejection of violence and the use of force, to coordinate all efforts necessary to attain the desired goals of peace and development.

This year, we have witnessed events of remarkable importance in sub-Saharan Africa. Some have struck a markedly hopeful note, whereas others - such as the tragedy of Rwanda and the difficulties in the peace process in Somalia - have demonstrated the fragility of the continent's structures.

Rwanda has appalled us. We have witnessed the horrors of civil war with a feeling of bitterness and even of impotence. Despite the efforts of the international community, in which my country is actively participating, no solution is yet in sight to this crisis or to the problem posed by the millions of displaced people and refugees - a problem which, moreover, is having serious repercussions on the stability of the neighbouring countries.

Those responsible for the atrocities, including genocide, committed in Rwanda must be brought to justice individually. Hence, Spain supports the work of the Commission of Experts established under Security Council resolution 935 (1994), which we actively promoted and co-sponsored, as well as the work of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Special Rapporteur for Rwanda. These events are extremely serious and we must make an urgent legal response to them through the establishment of an ad hoc jurisdiction for Rwanda, following the model already provided by the Tribunal established to deal with the former Yugoslavia.

South Africa has been the other side of the coin. We are gratified at its return to the General Assembly as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations, now that the apartheid system has been abolished and a democratic and non-racial Government has been installed.

In southern Africa, likewise, we are following with the greatest interest, because of their importance, the processes aimed at peace in Angola and Mozambique. We hope that the Angolan Government and UNITA will

shortly conclude a lasting peace agreement that will put an end to decades of suffering. We hope that in Mozambique the coming elections will consolidate national reconciliation. Spain will contribute to the peaceful and democratic holding of these elections by sending observers.

The decolonization of Gibraltar is a priority goal of the Spanish Government. The General Assembly has clearly established the doctrine that the decolonization of Gibraltar is a case not of self-determination but of the restoration of Spain's territorial integrity. I wish here to reiterate the Spanish Government's firm resolve to continue the process of negotiation with the Government of the United Kingdom, in a constructive spirit and on the bases of the Declaration of Brussels of 27 November 1984, taking duly into account the legitimate interests of the population. The Government of Spain expresses its profound hope that these negotiations will put an end to this colonial anachronism.

Disarmament and arms control are fundamental factors in the maintenance of international peace and security. Accordingly, during this year Spain has adopted a unilateral moratorium on the export of anti-personnel land-mines, has ratified the 1980 Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects and was among the first States to ratify the chemical weapons Convention. We also support the unconditional and indefinite extension of the non-proliferation Treaty and the early conclusion of a nuclear test-ban treaty.

Moreover, Spain hopes that a final decision on the enlargement of the membership of the Conference on Disarmament will be adopted shortly, thereby allowing for the full participation of countries which, like Spain, have demonstrated for many years their full commitment to the work of the Conference.

The close relationship between peace and development is especially well reflected in the report on agenda for development submitted last May by the Secretary-General. I wish to state my satisfaction at the publication of this report. We share the approach presented by the Secretary-General, which is based on the principle that development is a fundamental right and the strongest foundation for peace. We welcome the idea of defining the five principal dimensions of development that are set forth in the agenda - that is, peace as the basic foundation, the economy as the engine of progress, the environment as a

basis for sustainability, justice as a pillar of society, and democracy as a guarantor of good governance.

We must now determine what actions are required in order to implement the agenda and formulate specific recommendations on the assumption that development cannot be reduced to a simple economic dimension, but must, rather, be considered from its political, cultural, environmental, social and humanitarian angles. Only by means of this comprehensive approach will we be able to tackle the deep inequalities and serious problems affecting developing countries.

Furthermore, the financial resources devoted to this end should be used in a more rational and efficient way. To achieve this, we must continue to restructure the economic and social sectors of the Organization and of the United Nations system, particularly by strengthening even further the coordinating role of the Economic and Social Council.

In activities to promote development the protection of the environment should always be taken into account. Starting next year, Spain will participate in the work of the Commission on Sustainable Development, which at its last session dealt for the first time with the implementation of "Agenda 21" and of other agreements reached at the Rio Summit.

The global conferences convened by the United Nations play an outstanding role in the search for universal consensus on development. The Programme of Action adopted in Cairo by the International Conference on Population and Development will pave the way for a new demographic policy, and places women at the axis of every population policy. The key role played by women in development will also be highlighted during the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in September 1995.

The World Summit for Social Development, which will be convened in Copenhagen in March 1995, must, likewise, direct us to a new way of facing social problems in the world, based on the principle that human beings should be the core and ultimate goal of development.

Nobody can doubt the importance of the protection, promotion and defence of human rights as fundamental tasks of both Member States and the United Nations. Intolerance, inequalities of all kinds and violations of fundamental rights still endanger the lives, the freedom

and the safety of millions of human beings. In order to eradicate these evils, we must honour the commitments undertaken during the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights and redouble our efforts to put into practice principles that, although universally acknowledged, are not universally observed.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the office which was created by this Assembly last year, and whose first incumbent is Ambassador Ayala Lasso, must be able to perform his duties properly. To this end, it is essential to ensure that he has the adequate budgetary means and sufficient personnel, as well as the support and cooperation of all Member States. Such personnel and additional means should also be made available to the Centre for Human Rights.

In 1995 we shall commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. This will be an opportunity to reflect both on the Organization's accomplishments - which are not negligible - and on the challenges it will face. We live in an increasingly complex and dynamic international society, in which it is no longer possible totally to separate national issues from international ones, nor to divide the tasks of the Organization into watertight compartments. Mankind's full development will be achieved only when its multiple aspects, which are complementary and interdependent, are taken into account. The path to a better world, in which the United Nations continues to play a fundamental role, must be taken together by all the peoples of the world, as we are reminded by the motto of the fiftieth-anniversary commemoration. That is also the firm conviction of the Government and the people of Spain.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, His Excellency Mr. Amre Moussa. I invite him to make his statement.

Mr. Moussa (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, at the outset, I should like to extend to you, brother Minister Amara Essy our congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Allow me also to extend through you our congratulations to the sisterly country Côte d'Ivoire, with which Egypt enjoys bonds of friendship and cooperation. I take this opportunity also to commend your predecessor, Ambassador Insanally, the representative of Guyana.

I would be remiss if I did not pay special tribute to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who is conducting with his well-known acumen and ability the work of this

Organization amid turbulent political waves and rapid international changes, and in the face of rising expectations regarding the role that the United Nations could play in the world of today and tomorrow.

As we know, earlier this month, the International Conference on Population and Development was held in Cairo. We in Egypt are greatly satisfied that the Conference concluded with a Programme of Action that deals with population questions from their cultural and development perspectives, on the basis of a profound understanding of the various dimensions of this problem.

Undoubtedly, the clamour that accompanied that Conference was justified. Quite rightly, some have called attention to the fact that as the cultures of various nations differ from each other, there is no justification whatsoever to the imposition on any nation of a way of life it does not approve of, a way of thinking it does not palate or practices which it does not accept. On top of all that, there is the need to respect all religions, and to take into account the virtues they preach and the guidelines they embody for the conduct of individuals and nations.

It might be important in this connection to refer to the consecutive conferences that have been held in the 1990s to deal with the social aspects of development. We believe that henceforth, the attention of developing countries and of all other societies should be focused on dealing with these aspects. This is what all peoples of the world have aspired after throughout the long years of international conflict which led to social and economic convulsions that resulted in backwardness, misery and untold suffering for millions of people.

While we emphasize our interest in this approach that relates to social development and its global character, we also believe that the role of the United Nations therein is highly significant. Undoubtedly, the United Nations sponsorship of international conferences to this end consolidates its role in shaping the world of tomorrow, which must be a world of equitable development, collective security and social stability.

I have made a point of beginning my statement by addressing the social dimension, in order to underline a new tendency and a renewed awareness of this significant aspect of international life. I call upon all countries to accord that aspect the high priority it has denied for decades, during the cold war with its international conflicts that impacted negatively, not only on the social

agenda, but also on international action in that respect and beclouded people's awareness of its significance and effects.

During the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Egypt called for a new international social contract, to be formulated by all the world cultures and societies, so that it may act as a safety valve for the international community both now and in future. Realization of this vision will require, first and foremost, the creation of an appropriate international social environment, that would be inspired by the specific and distinctive characteristics of all societies and that would enrich the heritage of mankind. This could be done only through awareness of and respect for the integration and interaction of cultures.

Proceeding from its awareness of the movement of history, Egypt was the first to sow the seeds of peace in the Middle East. Today, Egypt is determined to continue to assist all parties to overcome the obstacles that impede negotiations, and to lay the foundations of new, just and secure conditions in the Middle East.

You may recall that last year, on behalf of my country, I called on the Governments and peoples of the Middle East to reflect on the future of our relations after the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. My call was based on the deep-seated Egyptian conviction that the only guarantee of a durable and stable peace in the Middle East is organically linked to the extent of the parties' success in working out and laying the foundations of a new relationship between the countries of the region that would be based on a threefold foundation of political settlement, socio-economic development, and regional security and arms control.

In dealing with our vision of a new Middle East, I am going to deal with each of those underpinnings in a context that has to do with the creation of a new situation which would allow all the creative energies of the region to be unleashed in a climate of security, stability and confidence in the future.

I speak first of political settlement. Last year, we met here a few days after the signing of the historic agreement between President Arafat and Prime Minister Rabin in September 1993. Under that agreement, the Israeli and Palestinian parties mutually recognized each other and agreed on a Declaration of Principles regarding the arrangements of interim self-government. The wave of optimism that was generated at the time was tempered by

the customary caution which lasted until an agreement enforcing the Declaration of Principles was signed in Cairo on 4 May 1994. That agreement constituted a significant step on the long road of peace towards the exercise by the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights.

The sight of the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat entering Gaza on 1 July 1994 has thus epitomized the long history of the Palestinian people's sacrifices and steadfastness, with which they gained the support and sympathy of all peace- and justice-loving peoples everywhere. President Arafat's return was the first dividend of the peace option that heightened international respect for the Palestinian people's responsible position and courageous decision at this historical and crucial juncture in their long struggle.

Allow me to pay tribute from this rostrum to the advocates of peace, on both the Palestinian and the Israeli sides. At the same time, I call upon both sides to continue to tend the shoot of peace until it becomes stronger and more deeply rooted. Moreover, I call for the expeditious adoption of new concrete measures that would assure the Palestinian people in the occupied West Bank that the peace dividends will embrace all the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967.

One of the most important of such measures is the alleviation of the burden of occupation and mitigation of the daily suffering of the Palestinian people. The organization of Palestinian elections in all the Palestinian territories would enable them to move from the first step of self-government in Gaza and Jericho towards the exercise of their full political rights, in the framework of self-determination that is the appropriate and genuine resolution of this conflict. Moreover, I appeal to both sides, in equally strong terms, to confront all acts of violence and practices of terrorism firmly and persistently to ensure safety for all and guarantee that peace will have the upper hand.

Egypt has commended the progress achieved on the Jordanian-Israeli track. The 25 July 1994 agreement to put an end to the state of war between the two countries is a positive landmark on the road to peace. Egypt welcomes this significant step and is confident that the rising momentum will soon help achieve tangible progress on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks, based on full withdrawal from the occupied territories of both countries.

Secondly, I wish to speak of economic development. Scrutiny of the Middle East situation makes it clear that there is an organic link between peace and development in that region, whose peace and security are pivotal to the world's peace and security. The laying of the groundwork for the social and economic development of the countries of that region is a necessary step, without which peace will remain meaningless and pointless. At the same time, the process of development can be successful only within the context of balanced and well-planned strategies that take into account the interests of all parties. In this regard, hopes are high and prospects are spacious enough. Nevertheless there is no room in all this for the domination by one economy of another. The Middle East can accommodate a comprehensive process of the production and marketing of all that each country of the region can excel in.

Egypt, which is undergoing at present a stage of radical economic reform that aims at ensuring for its trade, industry and private sector a significant breakthrough, is qualified to play a leading role in the economic development of the region. This should enhance the image of the Middle East as a region that attracts increasing tourism, flourishing trade and thriving investment, side by side with an advanced productive capacity. We nominate the Middle East to be the cradle of new economic giants.

Egypt does not seek opportunities of rapid gains, but rather an advanced economic framework that would contribute significantly to changing the climate of the Middle East and reshaping the region's ability to contribute to the interactions of the developed world economy.

Thirdly, I speak of regional security and arms control. Comprehensive peace, in its wider sense, will never be upheld in the Middle East unless we change our old perceptions. These were the products of years of wars and enmity that engendered the belief that security could be assured only through the acquisition and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. This regional arms race, that plagued the region and accelerated in a climate of mutual suspicion and hostility, must be tamed in order that we may adapt to the new realities prevailing in the region. Egypt believes that peace in the Middle East must be strengthened by taking arms-control measures, of which the first would be a reduction of the levels of armaments.

The region's experience has shown that a higher level of quantitative or qualitative armament, in the case of any country has never deterred aggression nor guaranteed security. If such experience is reason enough for

reassessing our policies in this respect, the political achievements which have put us squarely on the road to peace make us question the wisdom of escalating armament under conditions of peace.

If the first prerequisite is arms reduction, the second is the achievement of a better security balance amongst the countries of the region. The emergence of a new more stable Middle East will never take place unless we renounce the concepts of military superiority and agree to rid the region of the weapons of mass destruction. The persistence of such concepts can only jeopardize the existent possibility of creating a new and different Middle East. Any disruption of the security balance in the region, is bound to generate suspicions that may cause the region to slide once again into competition, escalation, dispute, conflict and confrontation.

If we are seeking normal relations between the parties, we have to ensure the co-equality of the obligations of all countries in the region. It is unacceptable that one party, to the exclusion of all others, should be accorded a special exceptional status. Unless this is addressed, serious cracks will develop in the foundations we are laying which may deepen and widen, and undermine the whole edifice.

Proceeding from this, the Egyptian initiative launched by President Mubarak in April 1990, in which he proposed that the Middle East should be declared a zone free of weapons of mass destruction, was commensurate with the concepts of the new international era at the regional level and came as a natural extension of Egypt's 1974 initiative to declare the Middle East a nuclear-weapons-free zone.

In this regard, Egypt strongly urges all countries of the region to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and accept the application of the safeguards regime of the International Atomic Energy Agency. This, if it takes place, will be a major step towards peace and reconciliation in the Middle East that would safeguard against any setbacks in future regional relations. Egypt attaches great importance to Israel's rapid undertaking of this step as we approach the date of the Conference for the Review and Extension of the non-proliferation Treaty in 1995. Otherwise, the extension of this Treaty, which aims at halting nuclear proliferation, would lead to the consecration of an adverse reality that is neither balanced nor proper and which runs counter to the principle of

universality. We would find the persistence of such an exceptional situation strange and unacceptable.

Egypt takes this opportunity to urge Israel to respond positively to this extremely earnest call which safeguards the region against the evils of an unnecessary arms race. It is a step that would help strengthen regional security. In this era of peace, we should rethink our priorities and view the prerequisites of security from a different point of view based on the new relations of peace instead of from considerations which had the upper hand at a time of regional conflicts. Israel should also conform to, rather than depart from, the international way of thinking that calls for universal adherence to the non-proliferation Treaty. We adamantly insist on this in order to avoid a race in this dangerous field.

While discussing issues of general concern to our world and its problems, I must also refer specifically to the prevailing situations in our region that create turbulence, problems, hopes and pain. Brotherly Yemen is healing its wounds after discord and strife. We are hopeful that sufficient patience will be demonstrated to bring about national reconciliation in accordance with the values of the Yemeni people and in such a way as to ensure their continued march towards development and prosperity.

In Iraq, the brotherly Iraqi people remain in the grip of the tragedy that befell them and we look forward with them to the day when their suffering will come to an end. This would require the Government of Iraq to respond to the demands of international legality and the unambiguous and formal recognition of the identity of Kuwait, its sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

While addressing the issues of the Middle East, we call on Iran to extend good-neighbourliness to its Arab brethren. In this regard, serious work is needed to resolve the problem of the occupied Arab islands in the Gulf. This would represent a positive indication that relations in the region can be conducted on the basis of a positive dialogue dealing with the political tendencies that are a source of concern in various parts of the region.

I turn now to Egypt's closest neighbours in the region. In this connection, I may say that the people and Government of Libya have now the clear political will to put an end to the Libyan-Western crisis concerning Lockerbie by putting the accused on trial and attempting to reach practical solutions for the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. An objective view of the problem confirms the importance of respecting

international legality since the trial of persons accused of an international crime is a necessity and the more expeditiously it takes place the better it is for the process of justice.

Similarly, in addressing the issues pertaining to its neighbours, we must also mention Sudan, with which we have had very special ties since the dawn of history. Today, Sudan is suffering from a challenge to its sovereignty in the south as well as an impediment to the development and prosperity of its people. In both instances, Egypt stands firmly and clearly in support of the unity and territorial integrity of Sudan. We cannot accept its fragmentation or division. With the same strength and clarity, Egypt supports the right of the Sudanese people to a tranquil and stable life that would afford them the opportunity to look to the future. In this framework, Sudan has a well-known history of tolerance and cordial relations amongst its people and with all its neighbours and brethren. There is no doubt that Sudan's implementation of policies in this direction would ensure a change in the strained relations in that region.

During Egypt's chairmanship of the Organization of African Unity, which expired in June, the African continent witnessed a number of important achievements, the most important of which was the success of the organization in creating a mechanism for the prevention, management and resolution of African conflicts. This is a development that contributes to the international efforts deployed in that area. It also complements the role of the United Nations within the framework of the principles and objectives of the Charter.

Over the same period, Africa has also witnessed the entry into force of the convention establishing the African Economic Community. This represents a significant step by the African continent towards the realization of economic integration, which will enable it to deal with the new international economic realities and to face up to the potential consequences of international economic developments that may not be entirely in the interests of the African States. Moreover, we in Africa are currently studying, in all earnestness, the social and economic situation in the continent. We are fully aware of the high priority of this problem to Africa's present and future generations. This will be the subject of a special meeting of African foreign ministers soon to be held in Cairo.

The African continent's share of human tragedies has been abundant enough, as demonstrated by the horrendous events in Somalia, Burundi and Rwanda.

While Africa reaffirms its principal responsibility to deal with such sorrowful events by providing the necessary troops to undertake peace-keeping and peace-building operations, experience has shown that the humanitarian, political and economic dimensions of such events require a positive contribution by the entire international community, primarily within the context of the United Nations. Such contribution has been forthcoming and represents a unique international and regional solidarity.

As regards Somalia, the tragedy is still unfolding, despite strenuous African and international efforts to achieve national reconciliation between the warring Somali factions. The crisis remains elusive owing to tribal rivalries and self-centered interests. The persistence of this situation has further frustrated the international community, to the extent that a number of States have decided to withdraw their troops from the peace-keeping operation or to call for the complete termination of the United Nations Operation in Somalia.

We are fully aware of the motives that have led to such decisions and proposals, and we emphasize that the responsibility for putting an end to the current deteriorating situation in Somalia and for reaching a solution to the crisis rests essentially with the leaders of the warring factions. We are of the view that it is unacceptable and unwarranted that the major Powers should impose a certain solution or a particular leader in Somalia. At the same time, we cannot wash our hands of this problem. There is still an obligation on the part of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States to assist in achieving a just settlement to the crisis.

From Somalia we turn to Angola, in which recent developments indicate a glimmer of hope that a final and peaceful solution may be close at hand. Egypt welcomes the official acceptance by the Government of Angola of the proposals concerning national reconciliation. We call for the intensification of efforts to achieve peace in order that the Lusaka Conference may succeed and for the full implementation of the peace agreement, as well as Security Council resolutions 864 (1993) and 932 (1994). We also strongly urge UNITA to show its goodwill by negotiating constructively to reach a peace agreement without delay.

It was our hope that a just solution to the Bosnian crisis would be found before the commencement of this session. Unfortunately, the painful reality is that the crisis is still with us. While we accept the position of the Contact Group in its proposal of the peace plan which has been accepted by the Bosnian Government regardless of its

shortcomings, yet we demand the most basic level of rationality and justice in managing this crisis. Frankly speaking, we believe that lifting or easing the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - without deploying credible and capable international observers along its borders with Bosnia and Herzegovina or securing its recognition of Bosnia as a sovereign State amounts to a negative development that is bound to hinder a just settlement, that bespeaks acquiescence in considerations that run counter to the norms of justice and is tantamount to surrender to the policies of aggression and racism.

A few days ago, the Security Council adopted a rather hasty resolution easing the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro. It would have been more useful if the Council had given priority to a review of the extent of the implementation of its many previous resolutions, adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter. Those resolutions contain provisions and requirements that should have been implemented prior to any consideration of the easing or reviewing of sanctions.

The rules of international justice should not be twisted to reward the aggressor for mere promises that lack credibility or effectiveness. Moreover, the effectiveness of the observers currently deployed on the Bosnian-Yugoslav border is highly questionable. Indeed, in our view, they are ineffective and insufficient.

Egypt, as a country contributing troops to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), reiterates that the purpose of the presence of these troops is to provide genuine protection for those areas until such time as the Bosnian armed forces would be in a position to undertake the task of defending their territory.

The withdrawal of UNPROFOR while the power vacuum continues - an idea that is being floated - would be a further step towards handing the protected areas to the aggressors, who have the necessary power to control them. This would certainly have negative implications for international relations as a whole.

We are at a unique juncture in history: our generation has been afforded an opportunity to lay the foundations of a new era. Today, as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, we feel that all nations, industrial and developing alike, must contribute to the development of a common vision of the new world order - a vision that will consolidate the foundations of

our common future on the principles of democracy, humanity and equality, arrived at through consensus by all members of the international community.

We wish to make it clear that any attempt to marginalize the role of the developing countries in formulating the global vision for the coming era would involve the risk of drawing new lines of confrontation in place of those that existed during the cold war. Those new lines of confrontation would be ruled by economic and developmental criteria and considerations that may ring down a curtain thick enough to separate the North from the South, deepen disagreement between them, and give rise to a situation inconsistent with the interdependence and cohesion of the present era. In this connection, I refer to demands of the developing countries voiced during the meeting held in Cairo this summer under the umbrella of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations coincides with the flagging of initiatives and proposals for the restructuring of the Organization's mechanisms. Such efforts will never rise to the level of expectations unless they are preceded by an effort to reform our thinking, to bring it into line with the changes in the international situation and thereby to translate the new collective vision into a concrete programme of action that would be based on genuine consensus and that would afford us a real opportunity to ensure the stability of international relations.

In this context, it is needless to point out that such a process of thought reform as the one I have just referred to must impact on our efforts as we embark on the process of restructuring the United Nations and, in particular, of reforming the Security Council with its extensive competence.

We must emphasize several points regarding the process of reforming the work of the Security Council. First, it must be carried out on a regional basis, not on a specific-country basis. Secondly, the new seats - and there may be two additional ones each for Latin America, Asia and Africa - must be allocated on the basis of the criteria stipulated in the Charter. Thirdly, it is not essential at this stage to specify the two States from each region that are to occupy the additional seats. The principle of rotation could be applied to several States satisfying the criteria agreed upon, taking into account the specific characteristics of each region. Fourthly, agreement must be reached simultaneously on a number of issues concerning reform of the Council's working methods and procedures and the

need to increase its transparency. Fifthly, the framework within which the right of veto is used should be reviewed and defined.

We should not pursue our work in this regard under pressure of time or on the assumption that consideration of the matter must be concluded by the time designated for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Finally, it must be emphasized that rational restructuring is infinitely preferable to what might result from a hasty decision that may please some States, upset the overwhelming majority of States that suffer from lack of representation in the Security Council and put the Council itself in a position of extreme lack of credibility.

In this regard, I wish to state that a number of countries are eligible for membership of the Security Council in accordance with the criteria to which I have referred. One of those countries is Egypt, which has made significant contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security in all the political, economic and social fields, and which continues to contribute to the cause of peace and prosperity at the regional level and in the context of its various affiliations.

Economic clout has become the principal tool of competition and the determining factor in the distribution of power and influence on the political and economic map of the globe. At the same time, social development has become a goal which we all pursue and technological development has become a prerequisite of economic progress and social advancement. It is a challenge that must be faced by those who aspire to progress and development.

Recent international developments have highlighted the strong link between peace, stability and development. Global stability cannot be achieved without balanced and sustainable development. The existing structural imbalances in international economic relations will continue to cause the social turmoil and conflicts that turn under our eyes to disputes which threaten international peace and security.

Mr. Ben Yahia (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the chair.

On its new journey - starting in New York, moving on to Rio de Janeiro and Vienna, passing through Cairo to be continued in Copenhagen and Beijing - the United

Nations has proved that it remains the global umbrella under which different ideas and positions interact.

We call on the United Nations not only to contribute to but to lead the process of formulating the new concepts and ideas required to lay the foundations of the new international order and the relations between the North and the South, particularly in the area of social development. This requires an overall process of rationalization, as indicated by the Secretary-General. In his current report on the work of the Organization he refers to

"the common misperception of the United Nations as an organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping."
(A/49/1, para. 1)

He states that economic and social questions should be at the forefront of United Nations efforts. That is what should happen.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, His Excellency Mr. Mümtaz Soysal.

Mr. Soysal (Turkey): Allow me to congratulate the President on his election to his high office, and to thank the outgoing President, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, for his wise leadership during the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

Many had hoped that the fall of the Berlin Wall would put an end to the divisions of the world and usher in a new era of peace and harmony among nations. This has not happened. Today humanity faces a new division or fragmentation far more dramatic in essence. The world is torn between hope and despair. This is the new division we are facing.

On the one hand, hope: the spirit of democracy is kept alive. The global commitment to the universal principles of respect for human rights, the rule of law and fundamental freedoms has been maintained.

On the other hand, despair: the eruption of long-suppressed evil forces, such as ethnic and xenophobic nationalism, racism and tribalism, has caused new conflicts. They have emerged as new threats to international peace and security.

On the darkest side, there are new instances of genocide. Slogans of racial hatred have resurfaced. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed or

wounded; hundreds of thousands of people have become refugees or displaced persons. Human dignity has been violated.

On the brightest side, historic breakthroughs have been achieved in South Africa and the Middle East. The courageous stand of some eminent statesmen has been instrumental in translating the basic vision of the United Nations into reality. In this respect, our praise goes to the leaders of Palestine, Israel and South Africa for their courage and far-sightedness. Their bold steps towards peace fostered our optimism to counter the negative trends.

In order to be able to plan a better future, we must take account of the achievements and the failures of the past and meet the challenges of the present. The time has come to start to contemplate realistically how to create new and workable mechanisms to respond effectively to the challenges of our times. But we first have to accept the fact that euphoria is almost always short-lived.

Today we observe two contradictory trends, one towards fragmentation and conflict and the other towards globalization and cooperation. This new dialectic defines the framework within which we have to work together to find a balance between optimism and pessimism, between the integrity of the nation-State and the demands of an ever more interdependent world.

This Organization was built on the ashes of the Second World War. The war's aftermath left its imprint not only on the United Nations Charter, but also on the rules that govern its work and its structure. Hence, the crucial challenge before us today is to make the United Nations the real centre of universal solidarity, by improving its effectiveness and harmonizing its work with these new imperatives. It is in line with this reasoning that we attach the utmost importance to the process of reform and restructuring of the United Nations.

In this exercise, the pivotal point should be the Security Council. The widespread demands to make that principal body more representative, more responsive, more transparent and more accountable have imposed upon us a historic task which we must fulfil. The democratization of the Security Council is a challenge of our times, one that requires an adequate response. The moral authority of this body needs to be reinforced. We have to enhance the representative weight of the Security Council by enlarging it and by establishing a fairer and

more orderly system of rotation within the geographical groups.

We must make sure that the Security Council is not perceived as a tool of a small group of big States that seek to impose their will and their national policy objectives on others. Indeed, the moral and legal authority of the Security Council's decisions emanates from the fact that the Council, in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter, acts on behalf of all States Members of the United Nations. Consequently, it is essential that the working methods of the Security Council be reviewed to reflect the spirit of democratization.

With this understanding, my country, Turkey, has been actively participating in the deliberations of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council. We expect this Working Group to become a genuine driving force for real reform of the Security Council. Therefore, any "quick-fix" solution in which the reform may be interpreted in a rather narrow sense cannot be accepted. In the same vein, we also fully support the efforts under way to revitalize and rationalize the work of the General Assembly as the central and universal deliberative forum.

The ongoing conflicts and tragedies all over the world underscore the urgency of our task of strengthening the United Nations, particularly in the field of collective security. In the past five years, United Nations peace-keeping operations have undergone considerable expansion. The nature of peace-keeping is changing. Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-enforcement, peace-building and global human security have emerged as new concepts on which further reflection is needed.

As an active participant in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, Turkey believes that their success depends ultimately on the support and assistance received from the community of nations. This, in turn, requires the awareness of a sense of shared responsibility in addressing our common concerns.

The United Nations stand-by forces, in which we have decided to participate, would play an essential role in promoting such awareness. Only when a potential aggressor clearly perceives that the international community will retaliate in a timely and effective manner might it change its behaviour.

The challenges we are facing today go beyond the means and resources of a single organization. Accordingly, there is a need for a new collective security architecture of mutually-reinforcing institutions in which all elements would have a role to play. The interaction between global security and regional security requires effective cooperation and coordination among the United Nations and regional organizations. One thing is clear: only the United Nations can provide legitimacy to regional arrangements and institutions in the fields of peace-keeping and peacemaking.

From Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Caucasus to Rwanda, the peoples of the world, faced with threats of racist hatred, are desperately demanding the helping hand and protection of the United Nations.

Regrettably, the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina has continued to be at the top of the international agenda during the past 12 months. Despite numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the international community has been able neither to put an end to the ethnic cleansing, nor to roll back the brutal aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the contrary, the lack of effective enforcement measures has encouraged the aggressors to proceed further with their genocidal campaign and their blatant defiance of international law.

Decisive and firm action to stop the aggression is long overdue. The Washington and Vienna Agreements laid down the foundation for a just and viable peace in Bosnia. These Agreements define the framework of a federation which preserves the territorial integrity and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multicultural, multireligious and multi-ethnic State. They are also open to the participation of Bosnian Serbs.

The Bosnian Government accepted the latest international peace plan proposed by the five-nation Contact Group in the spirit of peace. However, the extremist Serbs, longing for an ethnically homogeneous Greater Serbia, have insisted on their defiance of the will of the international community and have rejected the peace plan. Their rejection has demonstrated, yet again, that aggression cannot be halted on the shifting sands of promises and declarations.

The five-nation Contact Group has committed itself, in case of rejection, to the tightening of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. We deeply regret that the Security Council, by adopting resolution 943 (1994) on

23 September 1994, moved in the opposite direction despite the efforts of the Contact Group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Once again, aggression has been rewarded. Genocide remains unchecked. The Bosnian people are yet again completely disappointed with the international system. Their disappointment is shared more and more by the rest of the world, especially in the Islamic countries.

We have arrived at a critical juncture. The international community should stand by its commitments and should begin to act resolutely. We have to admit that only diplomacy backed by sufficient force can make the extremist Serbs realize that war gives them more pain than gain. There should be no further easing of the sanctions until Serbia and Montenegro recognize all the successor States within their international borders.

As winter approaches, the need to provide security, shelter and humanitarian assistance to the civilian population becomes ever more pressing. The safe areas should be extended and effectively protected by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The strangulation of Sarajevo should be ended. The humanitarian corridors should remain open.

As a matter of principle, the Bosnian Government must be provided with all the means necessary for self-defence, so that it may exercise its inherent right under Article 51 of the Charter. This is a moral, legal and political obligation on the part of the international community - but primarily a moral one.

President Izetbegović, in his address at the 7th plenary meeting, on 27 September 1994, from this rostrum, announced a new formula in this respect. On the condition that certain conditions be fulfilled, he limited his just demand for the lifting of the arms embargo to the adoption of a formal decision, deferring the implementation of the decision for six months. This is a new sacrifice motivated by the international community's inability to provide security for the victims or to recognize their basic right to self-defence. We must praise this noble gesture and support the new formula.

Realization of the commitments to a just and viable peace in Bosnia - commitments that have so far remained unfulfilled - is vital for the restoration of the credibility and moral authority of the United Nations. If we fail the test of history in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the so-called "new world order" could turn into a permanent "new world disorder".

We are witnessing further potential threats to the peace and stability of the Balkans. With the increasing tension between Greece and Albania there is, regrettably, a risk that yet another crisis may be created in the region. In addition, the Republic of Macedonia is suffering from an illegal economic blockade imposed by Greece. Moreover, Macedonia is still waiting to be represented at the United Nations under the name and the flag it has chosen.

The Balkans can in no way stand the pressure of additional tensions. Compliance with the basic international norms - respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in internal affairs, and the need to resolve disputes by peaceful means rather than by threat or coercion - is today more than ever before a pressing need in the Balkans.

My country lies at the very epicentre of the vast geography and the new geopolitics of Eurasia. Most of the conflicts which are high on the international agenda are taking place around Turkey. Fully aware of our responsibilities for the peace and stability of our region and beyond, we are trying to contain conflicts.

We seek to reverse destabilizing currents. We strive to promote the rule of law and democracy on our periphery. We remain a factor for stability. We believe that regional economic cooperation is a driving force for shared prosperity and increased confidence among nations as well as the most effective way to prevent the spread of ethnic conflicts and potential hegemonic tendencies.

With this awareness, we have developed new creative and cooperative regional initiatives to enhance solidarity and to consolidate the new geopolitical pluralism. We have established the Black Sea Economic Cooperation with Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, the Republic of Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. The Economic Cooperation Organization, originally founded by Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, has been enlarged to include Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Another blatant example of defiance of international law has been unfolding in the Caucasus, where Armenian forces continue to occupy one-fifth of Azerbaijani territory. More than a million Azerbaijanis have been displaced. Constant calls by the international community for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of occupying forces, as stipulated in relevant Security

Council resolutions, have fallen on deaf ears. This unlawful situation, created by Armenians, constitutes a serious threat not only to the stability of the region neighbouring Turkey, but also to international peace and security.

As a member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Minsk Group since its inception, Turkey remains committed to the CSCE peace process. We firmly believe that a solution should be found through collective efforts under the authority of the CSCE. In this respect, we fully support the endeavours of the Chairman of the Minsk Group to organize a multinational force to assist the parties to reach a just and lasting solution. We stand ready to contribute to these endeavours.

In this context, I should like to reiterate our consistent and firm position, which we have expressed from this rostrum on many occasions: Neither in the Balkans nor in the Caucasus, nor, for that matter, anywhere else, will Turkey ever accept the acquisition of territory by force. Nor will Turkey ever allow misinformation and unashamed official propaganda - even from this rostrum - to continue to lead the international community to tolerate and perpetuate the living conditions imposed upon the Turkish people of Cyprus.

Turkish Cypriots remain totally isolated in their part of the island because of innumerable restrictions that Governments and international organizations have placed on their trade, travel, cultural and sporting contacts with the rest of the world. This arbitrary embargo is maintained as a result of a relentless campaign to distort the facts relating to the history of events on the island over the last 31 years. Even a United Nations-sponsored confidence-building package, which was aimed at partially alleviating the ill effects of this embargo, was deliberately torpedoed by the short-sighted policies of the other side, and, unfortunately, prospects for a just and durable settlement have been further eroded.

A realistic and viable negotiated settlement continues to be the objective of the Turkish Cypriot side. We support this, and we believe that the only way towards a comprehensive solution of the question of Cyprus lies in removing the obstacles to the confidence-building measures.

As a neighbouring country, Turkey follows very closely developments in Georgia. We look forward to the restoration of peaceful conditions in that friendly country

and stand prepared to participate in the concerted international action within the framework of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia.

Turkey has set out on a lasting path of solidarity with the newly independent Central Asian republics, with which it has historic, cultural and linguistic ties. Turkey fully supports the efforts of those secular republics to build pluralistic societies and will assist them in integrating into the world community. I should like to underscore that Turkey's relationship between sovereign countries is one of cooperation and solidarity; it is a relationship between sovereign countries. It is neither in competition with, nor exclusive of, other countries' relations with them.

We attach great importance to the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. We had hoped that a broad-based national reconciliation process including all groups could have started. However, we have been greatly dismayed by the resumption of armed conflict. We once again call upon all the Afghan parties to put an end to the fratricidal fighting and start working for the establishment of internal peace so that the rehabilitation and reconstruction of this devastated country can begin.

In the Middle East, the end of the cold war has fundamentally altered the bleak picture and opened new horizons for peace. The Israeli-Palestinian agreement and the ensuing Israeli-Jordanian agreements have opened up a new era in which enmity is giving way to reconciliation and despair to hope.

The historic breakthrough in the peace process, which promises concord and cooperation between the Palestinians and Israel, and between Israel and its Arab neighbours, will undoubtedly have positive ramifications on a much wider regional and global scale. The establishment of permanent peace in the Middle East will also create the necessary conditions for harmony, economic cooperation and shared prosperity.

As a country neighbouring the Middle East, Turkey has a record of constructive involvement in the region's affairs and good traditional ties with all the parties. It is actively participating in all tracks of multilateral negotiations. It remains ready to contribute to the economic restructuring efforts of the Palestinians in Gaza and Jericho. It will take part in the temporary international presence upon the request of the parties. I should like to reaffirm our strong support for the process towards a just and lasting peace in the region.

The rather optimistic prospects for the future of the Middle East need to be tempered, however, with a degree of realism, in the face of the hardship the Iraqi people have been suffering. Four years after the outbreak of the Gulf crisis they are still waiting to return to normality. We are fully aware of the fact that, in order to take its rightful place in the international community, Iraq has to comply with all the relevant Security Council resolutions. However, we cannot and should not turn a blind eye to the fact that Iraq has almost completed its compliance with the disarmament requirements under Security Council resolution 687 (1991) and deserves encouragement in this respect.

It should also be borne in mind that the sanctions have caused great economic problems not only for the Iraqi people but also for a number of countries, especially Iraq's neighbours. The great economic losses of the most adversely affected countries, particularly mine - Turkey - still have to be addressed.

Here, I must also underline once again our principled stand that we will remain committed to the territorial integrity and unity of Iraq, which are vital for peace and stability in the Middle East.

The elimination of apartheid in South Africa closed a long and dark chapter in the history of humanity. Apart from South Africa, the picture is still gloomy in many parts of Africa. The United Nations conducts half of its peace-keeping operations in that continent and is actively involved in maintaining and building peace in Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi.

The efforts of the United Nations in Africa should be based on a twofold and consolidated strategy. They should be directed not only to maintaining peace, but also to accelerating sustained economic development, through which the major causes of continued armed conflicts may be defused.

Indeed, the root causes of conflict require new global commitments. In full agreement with the Secretary-General, my Government subscribes to the view that it is time to balance the old commitment to territorial security with a new commitment to human security; to shift from providing security through arms to ensuring security through development.

The end of the cold war has also ended the compartmentalization of major components, such as political security and social issues. It is now mostly

recognized that security cannot be viewed in political and military terms alone, and that peace and prosperity are indivisible.

At a time when disorder and disintegration, both at national and international levels, seem fated to increase, the concept of crisis prevention needs to be elaborated and expanded.

We strongly endorse the view that peace, development and democracy are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. We all recognize the pressing need to promote a new culture of development. The United Nations new agenda for development must bring sustainable and people-centred development to the forefront. For this, a stronger role for the United Nations is needed.

Democracy is the underlying imperative for human security, social integration and good governance. Indeed, during the Vienna Conference last year, the international community reiterated its commitment to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to the common struggle against racism, xenophobia and intolerance. Today a pluralistic civil society, free and fair elections, and the rule of law are defined as the common goals of humanity. Dialogue between different cultures can only be achieved within the context of democracy.

Violence and terrorism could not, and should not, be justified under any circumstances. In this spirit, the General Assembly in its resolution 48/122 reaffirmed the Vienna Declaration and described terrorism as an activity which aims at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy, as well as threatening the territorial integrity and security of States, destabilizing legitimately constituted Governments, undermining pluralistic civil society and having adverse consequences on the economic and social development of States. We call upon the international community to stand by its commitments and to take the necessary steps to combat and eradicate terrorism.

Lack of tolerance is the underlying cause of various conflicts which constitute the most important threat to international peace and security. Therefore, promotion of a culture of tolerance has a direct bearing on crisis prevention. We should inject the spirit of tolerance into the young generations.

It is a pleasure for me to recall here that on Turkey's initiative, the General Assembly last December proclaimed 1995 as the United Nations Year for Tolerance. By the terms of resolution 48/126, the entire United Nations system has been asked to contribute to its successful observance. Its celebration will contribute to the acceleration of efforts to prevent all forms of racism, discrimination, fanaticism and fundamentalism.

Disarmament should also be seen within the context of preventive diplomacy. We must recognize the fact that the end of the cold war has not removed the danger of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, in some cases the danger has actually increased. Hence, another field where progress is needed is the prevention of nuclear proliferation. As we prepare for the Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which will be convened next year, the creation of a climate of confidence will be vital. Measures need to be taken now to create that climate.

In the same vein, we hold the view that full compliance with existing arms control and disarmament instruments at regional and global levels is of primary importance.

As the Secretary-General has rightly stated, the children's Summit in 1990, the Earth Summit in 1992, the human rights Conference in 1993, the population Conference in September 1994, the social development Summit in March 1995 and the women's Conference to be held in September 1995 are all linked. By 1995, in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, we should reach a global consensus on the way forward to new commitments towards building a better world.

To complete the agenda, we must also add to these major events the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), which will be held in June 1996 in Istanbul. In this context, we welcome the Secretary-General's call to declare the Habitat II Conference as the "City Summit" to increase world awareness on this subject and to commit the world's leaders to making our cities, towns and villages healthy, safe, just and sustainable. High-level participation in this Conference will ensure its success.

We will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization next year. It is the most opportune time, on the threshold of a new millennium, to take stock of what we have achieved, and where we have failed, with a sense of realism and vision. We are obliged to realize the dreams of the founders of the United Nations. We hope that our deliberations will help to generate a new impetus for positive action to this end.

Member States have set their hopes on the United Nations, which reflects diversity united in a common cause. To the extent that it succeeds, we will have a better world for all peoples, and peace, security, democracy, development and prosperity will be enhanced.

This requires cooperative action, which all nations should be engaged in. We have to give full scope to our imagination to keep pace with the winds of change and strive for the realization of the shared dreams of humankind. If we fail, future generations will pay dearly for our mistakes. I am convinced that after all the bitter experiences of the past, humanity has the cumulative wisdom not to make such mistakes.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.